

# The Spokesman

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## Sant Harchand Singh Longowal's Assassination Overwhelming Tragedy

### Fulsome Tributes To His Services And Patriotism

### ELECTIONS IN PUNJAB MUST BE POSTPONED FOR A FEW MONTHS

A tragedy of unprecedented dimensions has overwhelmed the Sikhs, consequences of which cannot be foreseen with any accuracy for the time being.

Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, president of Shiromani Akali Dal, has been felled down by assassins' bullets.

He had just addressed a meeting at the Sherpur gurdwara, 27 km from Sangrur, on August 20 evening when two youngmen rose from among the audience and fired at point-blank range. Two more resorted to firing from the balcony of the shrine. The Sant's bodyguard fired in return, injuring one of assassins.

The Sant's followers rushed forward and threw a cordon around him. One of them met his end there and then while seven others were grievously wounded. These men had displayed rare sense of loyalty to their chief, offering to receive bullets on his behalf.

Two of the alleged assassins were nabbed on the spot. Two others managed to escape. The arrested culprits have been identified as Harvinder Singh and Gian Singh. They belong to village Neelan, near Halwara, in Ludhiana district.

Sant Longowal was rushed to Sangrur civil hospital. Eminent doctors from the Post Graduate Institute of Medical Education and Research in Chandigarh and Rajendra Hospital in Patiala were rushed to Sangrur. But they could not save the Sant.

He had received just two bullets. One hit him in the arm. This was removed. The other got embedded below his heart. It could not be taken out because

of his critical physical condition. And it proved fatal.

Fulsome tributes have been paid to the departed leader by people in all walks of life. They include President Giani Zail Singh; Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, chief ministers of states, leaders of political parties at the national and state levels, and scholars.

In a rare gesture, the union cabinet adopted a resolution eulogising Sant Longowal's qualities of head and heart and expressing shock at this heinous crime.

The Sant was cremated at Longowal village in Sangrur district with full state honours. As the leaping flames consumed his body on August 21 afternoon, an era passed.

The motivation behind the foul murder is not far to seek.

The accord, which Sant Longowal signed with Mr Rajiv Gandhi on July 24 this year, had become an anathema to many, especially the high brass of "united" Akali Dal and the firebrands of All-India Sikh Students Federation. Not that the Sant had signed a "sell-out", as alleged. The accord had conceded all major Akali demands. Only the rivals could not stomach that they had been neglected and left high and dry on the rocks.

Sant Longowal had shown the courage and will power to speak openly against the cult of violence and terrorism. He also spoke fervently in favour of India's unity and integrity, Hindu-Sikh harmony, and peaceful approach to all political problems. This was detested by a few.

Those, who are fond of wielding the gun and accused the Sant of "betrayal", must pause and ponder and explain where the Sant went wrong.

#### Honourable Accord

Under the accord, Chandigarh is now to be merged with Punjab on January 26 next. Abohar and Fazilka shall stay with Punjab. All leftout Punjabi speaking areas shall be identified by a commission on the basis of language actually spoken and contiguity and village as the unit. Another commission will determine Hindi-speaking villages in Punjab which should be handed over to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh. A tribunal, presided over by a supreme court judge, will apportion de novo the share of Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan in Ravi-Beas surplus waters. All these jobs are to be completed within proscribed time-limits.

The army headquarters has taken a very lenient view toward army deserters. Most of them have been retained in the army while full rehabilitation has been arranged for those discharged. This is the first time in the history of armed forces that so much compassion has been shown to mutineers.

The centre has also agreed to



release all Sikh youth who are not guilty of hijacking or waging war against the state.

Above all, the Anandpur Sahib Resolution has been referred to Sarkaria Commission which is looking into centre-state relations.

What more did the Sikhs want or could expect?

The ire of some disgruntled elements against the Sant was, therefore, completely misplaced.

#### Talks A Must

These men must realise that towards the end of every bloody war, in which millions of soldiers, airmen and sailors take part and in which weapons of all calibers and deadly destruction are used, generals sit together across the table to settle terms of ending this carnage and begin an era of peace.

(Continued on last page)



## Army Headquarter's Lenient Treatment Of Sikh Soldiers Welcome

### But Fate Of Several Hundred Not Known

Attitude of clemency and compassion adopted by the army headquarters in dealing with Sikh soldiers, who had deserted their units and marched toward Amritsar after hearing that the army had invaded the Golden Temple complex and demolished the Akal Takht, deserves kudos.

This would take the sting out of Sardar Prakash Singh Badal's grouse that these men had been thrown to the wolves. It also upholds Sant Harchand Singh Longowal's assertion that in his talks with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi he had taken care of them.

But the figures released by the army headquarters about these soldiers are confusing.

It was generally believed that more than 8,000 soldiers were involved in this "emotional outburst". But the army announcement puts their number at 2,733.

The official press release says that "67 deserters were killed" during their engagements with other troops and the police while

"30 were reported missing." This leaves a total of 2,636. But we are told that courts of inquiry were held against 2,606 only. Then what about the other 30?

Of these 2,606, courts had exonerated 172, leaving behind a total of 2,434. But the press release declares that a "total of 2,337" were left who were "found to be culpable of desertion or mutiny and allied offences."

There is a clear gap of 97 persons between 2,434 and 2,337. What has been their fate?

It is good that 900 soldiers have been rehabilitated within the army, though they have been transferred to other units. Another 237, who had been discharged, are being enrolled

in the Defence Security Corps.

A total of 858 soldiers, who had been found guilty and sentenced, are being sent to reformatories near Hyderabad as a part of a unique treatment adopted for the first time in India. The aim is to prevent these men from coming into contact with civilian criminals. At the end of their punishment period, they would be considered for retention in the army.

Only 50 soldiers were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment ranging from one year to 14 years R.I. But the confirming authority found three of them not guilty. Only one person has been sentenced to life imprisonment.

But nothing has been said about 392 persons who do not figure in the lists of those failed, rehabilitated, about to be absorbed eventually or discharged.

Apparently, army headquarters bosses did not do their homework on addition or subtraction of figures.

## Assam Settlement Indicative of New Thinking at Centre

### Hurdles Bound to Arise in Implementing Accord

After Punjab, now it has been Assam. With his healing touch, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has solved a problem which consumed more than 5,000 lives and which kept the troubled state on the boil for several years.

Both sides have made concessions. Youthful leaders of All-Assam Students Union and All-Assam Gana Sangram Parishad have now agreed to accept January 1, 1966 as the cut-off date. Formerly, they had insisted on January 1, 1961. The government, in turn, had held fast to March 25, 1971.

The government has also withdrawn all black laws and revoked every type of punishment meted out to government servants for participation in the agitation. Steps for restoring a shattered economy are symbolic of a new thrust, though employment potential of a paper plant, a jute mill and another refinery are not eye-propping.

But difficulties are bound to arise in detection of "foreigners" who came into Assam between January 1, 1966 and March 24,

1971. Most, if not all, of them had given Assamese as their mother tongue. Also scouring the entire state and spotting them within a short span of three months would be wellnigh impossible.

The biggest snag is that no one knows how many Muslims from former East Pakistan came in and how many Hindus.

The deportation of those, who entered Assam after March 25, 1971, will be equally difficult. Bangladesh would not touch them with a barge pole. Other Indian states would like to avoid the resultant burden.

If the AASU and AAGSP leaders feel that Assam is for Assamese alone and not even for Indians from other states, it would be setting a bad precedent. Assam shall, thus, be an exclusive

state within the Indian union. Then what right have Assamese to settle and prosper outside Assam?

And how can some Sikhs, who demand a "homeland", be decried as anti-national?

Depriving "outsiders" of their voting rights for 10 years, without harassing or disturbing them, is a climbdown from the earlier demand of stripping them of all civil rights. But will such men be allowed to enter government service or join public sector undertakings?

So many questions have been left unsolved.

The biggest silver lining is the new trend of thinking in New Delhi. Formerly, it held that all agitations were bound to peter out in the long run and the state's job was to maintain law and order. Now Mr Gandhi feels that embers, even if doused with force, are bound to burst into flames one day. He believes in meeting genuine demands and carrying all people with him. This is a welcome change.



24th August, 1955

**RELEASE AKALI SATYAGRAHIS**  
(An editorial)

New Delhi is awfully busy with other things. Nehru carries on his shoulders like Hercules, the burden of the world. Global peace is his mission. His triumphal tour in Russia, Yugoslavia, Poland, etc. has covered him with a refulgent halo of glory which has rarely fallen to the lot of a mortal. The Punjab Hindus being mostly Samaj-minded, with the like-minded Punjab Congress and the Congress Assembly party, with the redoubtable Kairon in the Cabinet and with two other Sikh Ministers who appear to find their safety in the line of least resistance—the Sikhs could expect little from Chandigarh. New Delhi is least concerned with how this border province is burning and the patriotic minority is suffering.

The Akalis have been too forthright, too independent-minded. They must be tamed. This seems to be the consideration which may not permit Government to release Morcha prisoners or to hold a judicial inquiry into 4th July happenings. The Congress boiled with rage over the Martial Law atrocities of 1919 and the Jallianwala Bagh episode. But they in the supreme intoxication of power seem to think lightly of 4th July happenings. Even though divided (and Government has its own share of the blame) the Sikhs would not forgive Govt., if the demand for a judicial inquiry is recklessly brushed aside. The Punjab Congress has also demanded such an inquiry, which is very significant.

The horizon is bleak and barren and ominous. The Sikhs' sentiments are being treated with indifference, if not with contempt. The Sikhs' grievances are being treated as mythical. Eminent Sikhs are treated as non-existent. Morchas are terrible things and entail much suffering. Why must Govt. impel a community to think of a Morcha as the only way to seek justice? Global peace is a blessed objective but the peace of the Punjab ought to have a place in it. Let not the Sikhs be treated as extinct or as more pariahs and out-caste. To soothe their feelings, release of Morcha prisoners and a judicial probe into 4th July happenings are inter alia essential.

## A THOUGHT FROM GURBANI

He, upon whom God bestows the boon to sing His praise,  
Verily, he is the king of kings.

—Guru Nanak Dev

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## PANTHIC UNITY

With elections to Lok Sabha and state assembly in Punjab around the corner, unity among Akali ranks is very imperative; otherwise, all shall come tumbling down in a heap of debris and their political aspirations to come to power shall lie buried fathoms deep at least for the next five years: At present there are two main factions: one, which was led by Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, is by far the most massive with a following unmatched by others; Baba Joginder Singh's rump is like the proverbial Dutch army—all generals and no soldiers. Dr Rajendra Kaur's Istri Akali Dal had been an integral part of Longowal faction till recently when the firebrand daughter of Master Tara Singh chose to plough a lonely furrow; this action of hers did not go unchallenged, as a rival faction has also emerged: Master Tara Singh Dal, headed by Jathedar Rachhpal Singh, is some force in Delhi alone; it is nowhere on the scene in Punjab, though it can have some nuisance value.

According to 1981 census, Sikhs form 60 percent of the population in Punjab. But, unfortunately, they are preponderant only in a handful of constituencies. The delimitation of constituencies has been done to keep the Hindu-Sikh ratio almost balanced. Cities and towns have been divided into three or four sectors, and 200 to 300 villages have been attached to each sector. Sikhs are nearly 95 percent in villages but in cities the Hindus rule the roost. Sikh votes shall be divided among Akalis (even if we assume that each constituency shall have one common Akali candidate), Congress(I) and communists. Congress(I) shall corner the largest segment of Hindu votes, as it come to be known as their saviour; the result will be that Bharatiya Janta Party shall have to be content with the leftovers and should consider itself very lucky if it invests more than two or three seats. However secular we may try to be, the fact remains that a Sikh would vote for a Congress(I) Hindu only to defeat a BJP man; similarly, a Hindu would vote for a Congress(I) Sikh only to heap humiliation on an Akali. Our voting pattern is moulded by considerations of caste and community more than those of ideological leanings.

There is nothing to divide the two main factions of Akalis in Punjab except personal ego. As Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi could not cut much ice with Sikhs at large, he cleverly roped in Baba Joginder Singh because, being the father of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, he had some hallow about him. Now the old man refuses to leave the throne and has become a prisoner of the glory and "golak" which go with his office. Before his assassination, Sant Longowal had asked SGPC President Gurcharan Singh Tohra and Sardar Prakash Singh Badal to approach Babaji for unity, an appeal for which was made by them. Let this be the basis.

## Particular Virtues In Sikhism

By : Sardar Pritam Singh Gill

Virtues are good traits of human character while vices are bad. Virtue is a trait that stands for the welfare of the individual and the group to which he belongs, while vice runs counter to it. It is difficult to give a long list of virtues and vices and evaluate each separately, nor is it possible to give any arbitrary classification because some have difference of shade only and therefore they overlap in classification; some change with a change in the social conditions. But there are certain cardinal virtues which have been recognised and approved almost in all ages with only minor modifications or assumptions and these also by insignificant fraction of people. The cardinal virtues are: selfcontrol, wisdom, justice, courage and love. Other virtues stem from these; they can be included in one or the other.

The ideal of a Sikh is to lead a virtuous life; it is one of the basic commandments, the other being the meditation on the Name of God. The vices are to be shunned. God watches the activities of every man; the virtues take man nearer to God and the vices draw him away. Every one has to render accounts of his actions before God. This earth is an abode of righteousness.

Sayeth Guru Nanak :

Our deeds good and bad are read in the presence of God.  
Our actions keep us near Him or far from Him."  
"Everyone hath to render the account at the Lord's Courts"  
"He createth the earth, the abode of righteousness."

## Self Control

In moral life there is a struggle between impulse and passion on one side and demands of reason conscience and society on the other. Self control means a control of all these impulses and passions in the interest of the whole Self of man and society. An impulsive passion may lead to many kinds of vices as indulgence, licentiousness, intemperance, sensuality, gluttony, lust, anger, avarice, attachment and pride etc. So self control is a great virtue for individual as well as social betterment.

Sayeth Guru Nanak :

"Human mind like a wild elephant is intoxicated with its own power,  
It wandereth about in the jungle of Maya, lured by its attachment."  
"Lured by Evil mind strays.  
When mind falters the weight of Evil oppresses the head,  
The mind losing its way strayeth into the home of 'Maya'.  
Peace and equipoise come when one dwells on the Lord."  
"Avarice is the dog, falsehood the sweepress, cheating is carcass eating;  
Slander is the dirt on my tongue,  
And anger is the fire that is burning me,  
I indulge always in self esteem,  
These are my dolings, O God.  
We are so possessed of gold and silver, women and scents,  
horses and cushions, sweets and meats.  
There is left no place for God in my heart."  
"Ego and avarice are enticing, they deceive us all.  
They who have forgotten God and indulged in other works,  
They burn in the fire of Duality, fire of desire is burning them off."  
"Attached to another's woman or riches and slandering  
Others, one taketh poison and suffereth pain."

## Wisdom

Wisdom and knowledge are different things. One may have knowledge but still lack wisdom. He may be unable to understand the real end of life. Wisdom means an insight into the values related to personality and social life. It is a virtue which comes by meditation on moral failures, personal attainments and on the Name of God. So wisdom means moral capacity and refinement. Knowledge produces ego and pride while wisdom teaches humility. So wisdom is a great virtue.

Sayeth Guru Nanak :

"Every one talketh of knowledge and knowledge,  
This vain utterance leadeth to discussion and pain.  
Every one canst leave talking.  
But if one is imbued not with its Essence, one is emancipated not."



"The more one writes and reads, the more is one burnt."

"Through wisdom doth one serve God, through wisdom one attaineth honour."

Through wisdom doth one realise what one readeth,  
Through wisdom doth charity come into one's mind."

Wisdom has always been valued in the world, wise men are immortal. Many civilizations have gone down and been interred in the earth but wisdom still lives.

### Justice

Justice is a very great virtue. It has been defined as that gives every man his due. It is an attitude of a respect for every man's right of human personality. Justice demands the right of every man to the conditions necessary for good life. Negatively speaking it condemns the denial of such rights. Justice is essential in all the four fields: social, economic, political and legal. The concepts of liberty and equality are related to the idea of justice. In the social field there should not be any discrimination against any person on the basis of his birth and caste. Economic justice requires that the products of society should be so distributed that all men have an opportunity for self development; there should be no exploitation. Political set up should be democratic. Every body should have the right to participate in the Government. No body should be denied a recourse to law. Legal justice implies the impartial enforcement of all laws in the interest of human welfare.

### Exploitation

Addressing the Hindus and Muslims sayeth Guru Nanak:—

"To usurp the right of another is to eat cow's meat for one and of swine for the other."

The Guru Teacher would stand by thee if thou deprive not any of his due."

### Economic Field

"If the blood sticks to the clothes they are considered to be impure."

How can the minds of those be pure who suck the blood of humans."

Positively speaking Guru Nanak summed up the Sikh tenets in the following Triple Precept:

"Thou shalt earn thy livelihood by honest labour,  
Thou shalt share the fruits of thy labour with thy fellow beings;

Thou shalt meditate on the Name of God."

"If one worketh not but becometh a *Yogi*,  
As a mendicant he loseth contact with the world,  
And proclaimeth himself as a *Guru* and beggeth from door to door,

O'men, fall not on the feet of such a one,  
Sayeth Nanak, he alone knoweth the Way,  
Who earneth with his hard labour and shareth it with others."

The values given by Guru Nanak were socialistic in principle. He condemned exploitation, urged to do honest labour and preached equal distribution of wealth. He was far ahead of Karl Marx in giving socialistic ideas, even when industrial society had not come into existence.

### Social Field

About the Casteism, sayeth Guru Nanak:—

"God mindeth not one's caste or his birth,  
One must find the home of Truth,  
For, as one's deeds, so is his caste."

"Vain is the pride of caste and vain is the pride of glory."

"God alone gives shade to all."

"See the Light in man, and ask not his caste,  
Hereafter the caste matters not."

"Hereafter neither caste nor power matter."

For a new man is born in the world of God.

For they who have good account,

They alone will be honoured."

So Guru Nanak preached social equality which is the basis of real democracy. Economic democracy and political democracy lack the real essence and content of democracy. Unless caste system is abolished, democracy can never succeed in India.

### Political Field

Guru Nanak condemned the political atrocities of the rulers unequivocally in the following words:—

"The *Kali-age* is the rapier, the kings the butchers,  
And righteousness has taken to wings."

The kings are like leopards, the courtiers like dogs,

They awaken those that sleep in God's peace.

The officials tear the submissive subjects with their nails,  
And, they spill the blood and lick like curs."

But Guru Nanak has placed before the ruler an ideal of justice:

"For the monarch through justice and for the learned through dwelling on Truth,  
Can the mind be cleansed."

So according to Guru Nanak, State is not force but justice; every subject must get justice.

So justice is an essential virtue; without it there can be no peace.

### Courage

Courage means willingness to risk dangers for the protection of one's own interests and ideals and those of the group one belongs to and the oppressed. It entails making sacrifices and enduring hardships for some higher cause. The courage needed may be physical or moral. It is physical or moral. It is physical when one has to fight a battle or face persecution for sticking to one's own conviction and it is moral when one has to face unpopularity among some sections of society opposed to him. The Sikh Gurus showed unprecedented courage when they made both kinds of sacrifices.

When Babar poured his hungry hordes into India and carried on ruthless massacre at Eminabad, none from the *Bhaktas* and *Yogis* raised a finger against his imperial will, rather they ran into jungles and hills and retired into seclusion to protect themselves. It was Guru Nanak, who in the face of death, stepped forward and called Babar a cruel, merciless and tyrannical ruler at his face. Guru Nanak did his moral duty towards the oppressed where the *Yogis* and *Ashis* had failed. He fearlessly pointed out to Babar that the slaughter of the innocent was the most cruel and unpardonable deed of Babar. Babar had to bow before Guru Nanak and stop the massacre. Fearlessness and courage, according to Guru Nanak, were prime virtues of life. Following the example of Guru Nanak, all the Sikh Gurus first tried their level best to persuade the political rulers not to commit atrocities on the innocent people. The feminine virtues (Christian virtues) reached their highest point in the lives of Guru Arjan Dev and Guru Tegh Bahadur (Fifth and Ninth Nanak) when they faced execution at the hands of the Mughal rulers. These were unparalleled events in the history of any community. But when a Sikh is convinced that there is no change of heart in the persecutor even after such sacrifices, he stops offering the second cheek like Jesus; he takes up the sword and fights against the tyranny. It is a failure in moral duty to let the tyrant continue oppression. Guru Gobind Singh thus had to strike a new path of rare courage for winning national freedom for the masses from the tyrannous Mughal rulers of those days.

Sayeth Ninth Nanak:

"Don't frighten any body, nor be afraid of."

Courage and bravery are masculine virtues which are as important as Christian virtues of humility, pity, mercy and kindness which are generally called feminine virtues.

Sayeth Tenth Nanak:

"O Lord, these boons of Thee I ask,  
Let me never shun a righteous task,  
Let me be fearless when I go to battle,  
Give me faith that the victory will be mine,  
Give me power to sing Thy praise,  
And when comes the time to end my life,  
Let me fall in the mighty strife."

So courage is the quality that is needed most in the leaders of society. Courageous people are always the saviours of society, art, culture and religion. They fight against wrong values and injustice.

### Love

Love is the supreme virtue, not in the romantic sense, but as a brotherly love for your neighbour, for a fellow being and for a needy person. The other virtues—self-control, courage and wisdom—are largely personal. Love surpasses these and even justice, in being more positive. Love involves consideration of other persons and what ever affects them. Love does not stop at mere rights: it is concerned with the person for his own sake. "Love is fulfillment of law; it is the whole law". It strives for the well being of others. It is a love for God and His creation. Many virtues stem from the Love of God such as love for all men, sense of brother-hood, justice,

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# Punjab Accord : Before And After

By : Prof. Hazara Singh

The accord signed by Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, president Akali Dal grasps firmly the realities by reciprocating mutual trust and sincerity of approach to national problems. It further enhances the responsibility of not only these two statesmen but that of all right-thinking people who believe in strengthening national unity and integrity of nation based upon dignity of the individual.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi rose above narrow party considerations when he appealed for forgetting and forgiving. This approach would become meaningful if forgotten history is recalled and worthwhile lessons from that are kept in mind. This history-based approach for proper appraisal of national problems becomes all the more necessary during the centennial celebrations of the Indian National Congress. None can overlook the glorious contribution of Sikhs to the freedom struggle. Sikhism has been one of the foremost sources of nationalism in India, and as such it shall continue to be adjudged as a cardinal factor leading to the renaissance of India. A reference to four events which took place between 1945 and 1971 will help further not only in appreciating the role of Sikhs in expediting the pace of freedom struggle but also of their subsequent contribution to the process of forging national unity and bringing about economic development.

## First

After the November 1945 elections to the Central Assembly held on communal electorate, Mr Muhammed Ali Jinnah, President of the Muslim League visualized that he could manipulate his majority in the Central Assembly by projecting himself as the champion of minorities. He took for granted the en-block support of the nominated members. For election to the office of Speaker, he proposed the name of Mr Naushirvan, a Parsee. Mr Mavlankar was the candidate of the Congress. There were three Sikh members in a house of 150 (102 elected and 48 nominated by the Governor General), viz. two Akalis, Sardar Sampuran Singh and Sardar Mangal Singh Gill and an independent, Sardar Surjit Singh Majitha, who represented a special constituency. Mr Jinnah was so confident of the victory of his candidate that he did not even come to cast his vote. He

entered the hall expecting to be greeted by the thunderous applause of his supporters for that taken-for-granted victory, but had to rue on learning that the Congress candidate had carried the day with the spontaneous support of the Sikh members. Had the Muslim League candidate won, Lord Wavel, the Governor General and Viceroy of India, would have been free to invite Mr Jinnah and not Pandit Nehru to head the interim Government formed on September 2, 1946.

## Second

It was the solitary vote of Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir in a meeting of the Congress party in the Constituent Assembly which decided in 1949 that Hindi and not English shall be the language of the Union of India. If subsequently the status of Hindi got lowered to the language of a zone or that of a religious community, the Hindi zealots alone have been responsible for that crime against national unity.

## Third

In the 1965 Indo-Pakistan conflict, Government of India had been advised by the Chief of Army Staff to withdraw the Indian forces upto Beas. Lt. General Harbaksh Singh, Corps Commander of the area, put forth strongly that the Sikhs in particular and the people of Punjab in general draw moral and mundane support from Darbar Sahib, Amritsar during weal and woe, hence the vacating of Amritsar would lead to the demoralization of armed forces resulting in a virtual offering of Kashmir and Punjab to Pakistan on a platter. History bears testimony that it was the right advice and courageous action of Lt. Gen. Harbaksh Singh supported spontaneously by the peasantry of Punjab (predominantly Sikh) which saved the geographical integrity of India.

## Fourth

After the liberation of Bangla Desh, the then Vice-Chancellor of Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana declared that the 1971 war against Pakistan had been won by India in the laboratories of PAU, because had the Green Revolution been not ushered in the Punjab, India would have been coerced by the food-aiding countries into a humble submission.

To under-rate the contribution of the Sikhs to the freedom struggle to under-estimate the dismay caused to them by that section of the population of Punjab which disowned Punjabi as their mother-tongue while

the Sikhs had sagaciously voted for Hindi as the language of the Union, to overlook the mental anguish inflicted to them by the Operation Bluestar in spite of the fact that unflinching faith in the Darbar Sahib Amritsar had saved India from a debacle in 1965 and above all, to brandish all of them as terrorists ignores the historical realities that India would have lost both its geographical integrity and economic stability but for the contribution of Sikhs towards these goals.

Forgetting and forgiving becomes meaningful if historical facts are not overlooked. The November 1984 genocide against the Sikhs and the sincerity of action displayed by the Prime Minister of late may make us wiser and more patriotic if we keep in mind the following lessons learnt at a great cost:

i) The miserable plight of minorities during communal riots has aroused the conscience of nation for the first time. The secular fabric of our Republic can be strengthened if communalism and criminality are not patronized by political parties for retaining their hold.

ii) The regional parties operating within the framework of the Constitution of India should be allowed to function without intrigues against them.

iii) If India resents the subversive activities of its neighbour against her, the latter have a corresponding right to expect similar principle-based policies from the former.

iv) The Akal Takhat should revise its policy of issuing adverse hukamnamas against Sikh politicians. It should restrict its prerogative to religious matters only. The people alone have the ultimate right to give a verdict against or in favour of political personalities.

v) The signing of the accord by the Prime Minister of India and by the President of Akali Dal has raised the status of the latter from the leader of a community to that of the state. The Akali Dal should accordingly broaden its base. As SGPC can look after the religious interests of Sikhs, the Akali Dal should become a secular political party.

vi) If the mutiny of 1857 is proudly claimed and celebrated as India's First War of Independence, those who deserted army in the wake of the ill-conceived Operation Blue Star should not be punished, as both the upheavals took place under the stress of injured religious feelings. In 1857 the Hindu

mutineers felt outraged on learning that the fat of cow was used in the cartridges which they had to uncork with their mouths before loading the muzzles and in 1984 the Sikh soldiers deserted their units on learning about the sacrilege of their holiest place. The deserters should not be punished but honourably absorbed as ex-servicemen in the para military units and other security organisations.

vii) The Assembly and Parliamentary elections in Punjab should be held after January 26, 1986. The electoral rolls revised upto January 23, 1985 do not fairly represent the electorate. Thousands of eligible voters were then either in the jails or were hiding themselves. Their names were deleted from the electoral lists. If the faith of the youth is to be diverted from bullets to ballots they should not be deprived of their right to elect and be elected. The Constitution should be amended accordingly to extend the President's rule beyond two years.

viii) It should be understood by one and all that just as Mahatma Gandhi did not visualize the revival of old Hindu orthodoxy whenever he referred to Ram Raj in his evening prayers, likewise, the Sikhs do not raise the war cry for establishing a Sikh theocratic state when they chant in chorus 'Raj Karega Khalsa'. Ram Raj and Khalsa Raj mean politics of purity and principles.

ix) The Prime Minister, in order to raise his status from the President of AICC (I) to that of the leader of Indian Nation should

(a) to provide a clean administration, dissolve the state governments formed by the defectors or with the support of defectors;

(b) ask his party men suspected to have engineered communal riots in November 1984 to vacate their offices during the course of inquiry; and

(c) invite all the freedom fighters to whatever political party they belong, to join the centenary celebrations of the Indian National Congress, so that it may look like a national event and not a party affair.

National unity calls for a nation-wide approach to national events and aspirations. Instilling confidence in the nation is more rewarding than winning an election.



# Open Letter To A Sikh Youth

My dear brother-in-faith,

I am writing this letter to you without knowing you personally, but knowing the agony and the pain of your heart and mind at the present time, as expressed through ways which no one in our history had ever employed before I feel called upon as an historian and interpreter of your great, all-embracing faith, whom you have shown utmost consideration and reverence throughout his active life of nearly half a century, to address you an open letter, so that both you and others like you may heed, before it is too late, this advice, based not on any personal motive, but just to help you out of a deadly and dangerous impasse created for you by certain self-serving interest, both indigenous and foreign. For, I am flesh of your flesh and bone of your bones, and I do not want you to sacrifice in the prime of your youth both your present and future (and, along-with you, of millions of others of your faith), in the attainment of a cause which no one has sought to define to you or to any other. For, this is how some clever manipulators of our scriptures and history will profit from your spirit of supreme sacrifice and sense of honour, which, though very much a part of your religious and social ethos, had better be utilised for better and more worthy causes.

## High Merit

I know your psyche was hurt, your mind and soul have been in torment for quite some time now. Many things happened on all sides during the last three years of which we should all be ashamed and feel utmost remorse. But, now that all outstanding problems of the Punjab and Sikhs—territorial, economic and religious—have been sorted out, thanks to the vision and generosity of heart of our noble Prime Minister and the moral courage and farsightedness of the agitating but patriotic Sikh leaders, it is about time you too shed your sense of hurt and alienation. Your proverbial sense of discipline demands this as much as the future of your great community. Even now, the Punjab is over 60 per cent Sikh (according to the Census of 1981) and with new industrial, irrigation and power facilities now being extended, there is nothing your adventurous spirit and your unshakable faith in your destiny and your God cannot achieve. Your high merit is recognised in the civil as well as the armed services, and you have attained already a kind of affluence, both in agriculture and small-scale

Dr. Gopal Singh, at present, Lt.-Governor of Goa, Daman and Diu, is a man of acknowledged scholarship and erudition. He was the first to translate the Guru Granth Sahib into English. His love for the Sikhs is, therefore, profound. This 'Open Letter to a Sikh Youth' mirrors his innermost feelings. We do not agree with all what he says or argues about. But, in order to put across divergent viewpoints, we are reproducing it and leave it to the Sikh youth to weigh his suggestions on the scales of merit or demerit. We will be glad to publish the views and comments of our readers.

industries, through willing and generous support of all concerned, as no other part of India has achieved so far. The commercial Sikh classes, which were ruined on account of the country's partition, have settled—over three to four million of them—in the areas outside the Punjab and make good, as few others perhaps have, throughout our land. Was there a single case where you were denied opportunity on account of your faith? In fact, you were leading the others in every respect. People of India everywhere pointed to you as a worthy example for emulation everywhere. What is it that had suddenly gone wrong, everywhere, that you felt so let down wherever you went, in whatever you did? Please pause and ponder. The search should lead you also to look within, not only without.

## Worthy Cause

Yes, your history is full of sacrifice and the whole nation is proud of it. But this sacrifice was never offered for anything in our history but for a most worthy cause. Our fifth Guru, Arjun, was beheaded by Jehangir, for he had built spiritual platform for bringing the Hindus and Muslims together, and not for their separation as the emperor had wanted. Emperor Akbar, his soulful father and the pride of our history, had visited the Guru, and been deeply impressed by his catholic outlook in evolving his own "Din-i-Ilahi". But, his bigoted son persecuted the great Guru for the same reason! Yet, the Guru's House never gave up the path of conciliation and togetherness, nor its fight for human rights for everyone. Guru Tegh Bahadur was another great martyr, but he gave his head, in the words of Guru Gobind Singh, 'to save the frontal-mark and the sacred thread' of the self-same Hindus, from whom you are being estranged now-a-days with a vengeance.

The Tenth Master also fought several battles. He won most of them and yet refused to build a state on the basis of religion. In fact, he was fighting Aurangzeb for the same reason—namely, that religion must not be made the

basis of a state. And, yet after sacrificing his father, mother, his two sons bricked up alive and the other two killed in battle before his eyes, he agreed to call on Aurangzeb when the emperor invited him cordially for talks to resolve their differences. The Guru set out on his journey to the Deccan, where the emperor then was but, unfortunately, Aurangzeb breathed his last in the meantime and a war of succession raged among his four sons. And, lo and behold, that on the request of Bahadur Shah, the eldest Sufi son of Aurangzeb, the great Guru sent out a Sikh detachment for his help! The friendship that ensued between the two is now a part of your history! Compassion and forgiveness are the hallmarks of the chivalrous and the brave; it is only the bullies and cowards who call for revenge. Our Gurus knew that blood cannot be washed with blood, and believed like the Great Buddha that a worthwhile victory is only that in which no one is defeated.

You are no doubt aware that Guru Gobind Singh showed the same catholicity of outlook and generosity of heart in respect of the widow of Shri Ram Rai (his cousin-brother, who had been discarded by his father and had set up a gaddi at Dehra Dun in opposition to the Guru's House), when she called for help from the Guru against her own deputies (Masands). Shall we not follow in the compassionate Guru's footsteps in making up with those who are offering their hand of friendship over and over again in this hour of crisis for our country?

## Sikh Tradition

You know, it was Guru Hargobind, the 5th Guru, who took to arms to defend not only his faith but of all those who were under attack. He fought several battles, but not from the Akal Takhat (which as the spiritual-secular seat of supreme Sikh Authority, he himself brought into being) but from Lohgarh, a fortress he'd built some three miles away. He never made it his residence and kept his family more than five miles away at Chheharta Sahib. And, neither he nor Guru Gobind

Singh ever staked a claim for a theocratic state. In fact, it was this tradition of the Sikh Gurus following which the entire Sikh community refused to live under the theocratic regime of Pakistan, and walked out of it, en masse, sacrificing over half a million people, and all the enormous property their forefathers had built through many centuries of effort. And, where did we make our abode, penniless and shelterless? In no other country but India, our ancient Motherland, whose honour we had protected through the centuries with our blood.

It is this land for whom Guru Nanak had sung his hymns of "Babarvani", and courted imprisonment at the hands of Babur. It is this holy land he'd traversed on foot from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari (and Sri Lanka) & from Kamrup to Peshawar (and Kandhar). It is the same land (the whole of it) wherein Guru Hargobind and Guru Tegh Bahadur preached their gospel of patriotism and single nationhood. It is the same land which Guru Gobind Singh sanctified by his blood and recruited his five beloved ones (Panj Pyaras) from the sacred Hindu shrines of Jagannath Puri, Dwarka and Bidar as well as from Rohtak and Lahore. (Not a single one was from the present Punjab!) He called Bengal (then also including Bihar, Orissa and Assam) his "spiritual homeland" and named one Takhat (seat of spiritual authority) at Patna (where he was born) and the other at Nanded in the Deccan (where he breathed his last)!

## Suicidal Course

It is thus not only the Punjab, which is our homeland, but also the rest of India which is both our homeland and holy land. For which other "homeland" are some of you, therefore, being led to fight and for whose benefit? Just look at the geography and the economy of the Punjab and see what a suicidal course you are being asked to traverse not for your secure future, whether political or economic, but for your total ruin and the ruination of us all. Is it for this that we had sacrificed our all? No, a thousand times no, for we fought for the freedom of our Motherland, and for the consolidation of its freedom, so that we could own the whole of it as our very own? Your non-violent struggles always won you the approbation and support of the whole country, whether it was at the Jallianwala Bagh or the Gurdwara Bagh, and even the achievement of a Punjabi-speaking State as well, as late as 1966. The historic victory you've won through the recent Punjab accord is also worthy of your serious attention, for it gives you... 11



that you'd ever asked for—and even more.

You are nowadays being fed on anti-Hindu fables and canards. But, just read your holy scriptures and see how much are you a part of the Hindu ethos? Our beliefs in karma, transmigration and moksha through yoga (*bhakti*, *gyan* and *karma yoga*) are the same as those of the Hindus. We have never sundered with them through the ages our common bonds of "bread-and-bride" (*roti* and *beti*). In the same family, one brother is a Hindu, another Sikh. We worship at the same altar, listen to and recite the sacred Word of the same great Gurus. You must have read the works of Bhai Gurdas (whose word was declared by Guru Arjun to be the "key" to the understanding of the Guru's Word). With what passion does he narrate the stories of Sri Krishna and Bidar, Dharaupati, Prahlad, Ganika, Valmiki and others of the Pauranic lore, and how much does the Guru Granth revere the Word of Kabir, Ravidas, Namdeva, Dhanna, Pipa and Trilochana?

The two words "Ram" and "Onkar"—most sacred to the Hindus—are repeated thousands of times in the Adi Granth (which we worship as the living embodiment of the Gurus). Read the "Sahsarnama" of Guru Arjun Dev, and you find a thousand sacred Hindu names of God enumerated therein—Murli, Manohar, Keshav, Sarangdhar, Bhagwan, Bithal,

Hari, Mohan, Madhav, Krishna, Murari and many more. Have you not heard that even after the birth of the Khalsa (1699), Bhai Nand Lal, the court poet of the Guru, and Bhai Kanahiya, the founder of Sevapanthi sect, were never baptised, and yet remained a part of the Khalsa brotherhood? Could you give me one instance of a Hindu-Sikh fight as such throughout your whole history? Must we create a new history to shame all our glorious past and all our sacred heritage?

You know that when Punjab became a sovereign State under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, lion of the Punjab, the Hindus enjoyed as much power as the Sikhs and the Muslims, if not more. For this indeed was the miracle that Sikhism had wrought—building a nation with equal opportunity for all, irrespective of caste, colour, sex and creed, and accepting the validity of all paths leading to God-realisation and making religion a matter of spiritual regeneration and not a vehicle of exclusiveness, fundamentalism, violence and hatred. This is what distinguishes this faith and its heroic history. This is what gives you your true identity. Its fundamentalism consists of all-inclusiveness and not exclusive form or fanaticism; war in defence of the nation's honour and not for its disruption. The sword that a Sikh dangles by his side is called "Kirpan" (the Compassionate One) or "Sri Sahib" (or Lakshmi, giver of boons). It is not and has never been the killer-sword. Have you

come across a single verse in the Guru Granth Sahib which condones violence?

I fact, the Guru has said, "the greatest malady in an individual or a community is 'ego'". (*Haumain-I-amness*), and the greatest virtues are humility and self-surrender. Says your Scripture: "Speak ill of no one; for God resides in all. Break no one's heart, for all hearts are like jewels". Guru Gobind Singh gave strict instructions never to provoke a controversy between one faith and another, but do everything to reconcile their differences. To him "the temple and the mosque were the same". He enjoined upon you to look upon all humanity as one (*Manas ki jat Sabhe eke patchanbo*). And it was he who had said: "He who commits sin in the name of religion is the worst of sinners" (*Pap kiye parmarath ko, it papan te sab pap lajaen*). And he it was who had asked you always to keep the houses of the Baba and Babur separate, and never to identify the church with the State.

Anyone who gives you a different interpretation of his works and deeds in his own self-interest, is your enemy, not your friend. On what you do and think today are pinned the hopes of not only your co-religionists all the world over, but of all of Mother India, which has nurtured you with her blood, and seeks sacrifice

and dedication from you in her name and for the sake of her honour, and not such as may comfort only your enemies and the enemies of this great civilised nation and destroy everyone's faith in your own noble traditions and history. No Hindu would be worth his salt who denies your magnificent sacrifices for the nation or seeks to humiliate or discriminate against you, or is anxious to destroy your identity or morale. Just as what Swami Vivekanand, Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru and Radhakrishnan in the present century had to say about your glorious faith, spirit of sacrifice and patriotic achievements.

God will always be on your side and victory will always be yours if you will fight on His side, as your faith enjoins, and be guided always in whatever you do by the Guru's injunctions and examples and not by those of some power-hungry individuals and cliques in your midst. The whole country is beckoning you to lead it, as of yore, to ever greater heights of glory and power which is her due. Shed your self-inflicted misery and sense of alienation, therefore, for Mother India is waiting to receive you into her loving embrace. And that is where you belong. My very best wishes and the good wishes of the entire nation will be with you in this noble endeavour.

(Continued from page 4)

faith, sincerity, sympathy for the weak and needy, humility, truthfulness, etc. Such a man becomes God-like and develops all these virtues.

Sayeth Guru Nanak :

"Man becomes like God when imbued with Him."

"Sweetness and humility are the essence of virtue.

If we weigh things in a balance, the one which is heavier toucheth down."

Love of God is the Supreme Virtue; it is a must.

In its absence, others have no value for salvation.

Sayeth Guru Nanak :

"Lakhs of good deeds, lakhs of approved virtues,

Lakhs of austerities at the holies, or the practice

of 'Sahaj Yoga' in the wilderness,

Lakhs of brave acts and losing life in the battlefield.

Lakhs of knowledge and *Shrutis*, concentrations and readings of *Puranas*,

He, the Creator who has writ the coming and going of all,

Before Him, all devices are false; His Love and Grace are the true standard."

Whatever the type of society may be, the five virtues—of Self-control, wisdom, justice, courage and love—are always valuable; no society can become strong and stable without these virtues. Mark the man who condemns these virtues, he does not want a social life; he intends to take the mankind to the life of jungle or impotence. Sometimes some cults do rise up that condemn these virtues in the name of liberty but that is licentiousness. Such movements are mere bubbles and shortlived; they sooner or later burst and the society goes on its onward march.

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# Compassion Towards Deserters Urged

## Ex-Servicemen Back Sant Longowal

A number of retired officers of the defence services have hailed the Punjab accord signed between the Akali Dal and the Government. The signatories include Lt Gen Gurbachan Singh (Retd.), who is the president of the Indian Ex-Servicemen's League of Punjab.

In a signed statement, the officers said:

"The accord between the Prime Minister and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal reflects statesmanship of the highest quality which, sadly, has been lacking in recent years. The agreement has helped to move the country away from the abyss to which it had been taken and is thus a significant milestone in the history of this country.

"It is important to remember, however, that the implementation of the accord requires absolute integrity on both sides and it is upto the national leadership to honour the spirit of the accord by showing magnanimity and compassion towards all those

defence servicemen and detained Sikh youth in Punjab whose lives have been adversely affected by recent turbulence.

"The Sikh leadership on its part has to show an undeviating commitment to the ideals and traditions on which the faith is founded. The Sikh character must continue to be reflected in its will to uphold a disciplined way of life and its patriotic traditions. We feel Sant Harchand Singh Longowal has those qualities of a leader: sagacity, steadfastness and a strong sense of purpose, which the Panth requires at this time. He is also a man of rare personal integrity. As these qualities are not easy to come by we feel that of all the leaders on the scene he is most

qualified to lead the Sikhs through these critical times. All Sikhs therefore need to give him their full and unstinting support especially all Sikh ex-servicemen.

"Now that the nation is about to emerge from the dark shadows of the last few years we hope other Sikh leaders too will give their complete support to Sant Longowal. They will diminish their stature in the eyes of the community and the country if they lend themselves, unwittingly or otherwise, to the designs of those who have a vested interest in keeping communal tensions alive. Our larger interests are of much greater importance than narrow self-interest."

The retired officers who have signed the statement are: Lt. Gen. J. S. Dhillon, Lt. Gen. J. S. Aurora, Lt. Gen. Gurbachan Singh, Lt. Gen. Sartaj Singh, Air Marshall T. S. Brar, Maj.

Gen. S. S. Chhachhi, Maj. Gen. Gurbaksh Singh, Brig. Sukhjot Singh of Kapurthala, Brig. Joginder Singh, Brig. W. S. Ahluwalia, Brig. G. S. Sihota, Col. Harwant Singh, Col. Jaswant Singh, Col. B. S. Chimni, Col. Harnam Singh and Col. G. S. Bedi. Lt. Col. J. S. Sidhu, Lt. Col. Joginder Singh, Lt. Col. Manmohan Singh, Lt. Col. Jaswant Singh, Commander J. S. Gill, Commander Nandy Singh, Lt. Col. Thawar Singh, Lt. Col. Zorawar Singh, Lt. Col. Gurbaksh Singh, Lt. Col. T. S. Malik, Lt. Col. Rajinder Singh, Lt. Col. Kesar Singh, Lt. Col. Surinder Singh, Lt. Col. Manohar Singh, Lt. Col. A. S. Chhachhi, Lt. Col. Sardul Singh, Lt. Col. Iqbal Singh, Lt. Col. Randhir Singh, Lt. Col. Bhagwan Singh and Lt. Col. Daljit Singh, Maj. Naranjan Singh, Maj. Gurbak Singh, Maj. U. B. Singh, Maj. Harbans Singh, Maj. H. S. Rati, Maj. Santokh Singh, Maj. S. S. Chadha, Maj. H. S. Puri, Maj. Zorawar Singh, Maj. K. S. Bindra, Capt. D. S. Baksni, Lt. P. S. Rekhi and Lt. Pritam Singh.

## Corridor Concept About Abohar-Fazilka Was Preposterous

Shri P. N. Kaul, who was an official in the States Reorganisation Commission of 1955-56, has, in a letter published in the "Indian Express" recently, thrown light on the proposed transfer of so-called Hindi-speaking areas of Fazilka and Abohar to Haryana. We reproduce it, as our readers would be interested in knowing the background.

The agreement reached between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal on July 24, will become a historical document indicating the judicious mind of both the leaders. What the Prime Minister has achieved is to rationalise the inter-State boundary between Punjab and Haryana, specially in regard to the suggested proposals earlier in January 1970 on transfer of the so-called Hindi-speaking areas of Fazilka and Abohar to Haryana through a corridor of an average width of about one furlong along the inter-State boundary between the two States.

How much inconvenience economically it would have caused, if the people of these areas would have to go to Haryana and it is the general belief that the distance from Fazilka town through Abhor town up to the artificial boundary through a strip of territory would be 100 miles or so. The boundary drawn on the basis of para 5 of the 1970 statement would have made Fazilka and

Abhor areas enclaves within Punjab territory just touching the Haryana boundary through an awkward corridor, a conception which had all along been against the principles of the scheme of reorganisation of States ever since Oct 1, 1953, when Andhra areas were separated from Madars State on the award of Mr Justice K.N. Wanchoo.

The further argument against this corridor is that the six-man Committee appointed in 1956, by the political parties concerned with the concurrence of the leaders of the Punjabi and Hindi regions of the erstwhile Punjab State had not endorsed this recommendation at all. It was only that three members: Giani Kartar Singh, Mr Devi Lal and Prof. Sher Singh had expressed the view but the late Pratap Singh Kairon, was not agreeable. This report of the six-man Committee dt 24. 10. 1956 was appended to the Shah Commission report on the Punjab reorganisation in 1966. The Shah Commission had also rejected this proposal. The earlier

proposal contained in para 5 of the 1970 statement was rejected also later when the Presidential order was issued in 1957, dividing Punjab State into Punjabi and Hindi-speaking regions and MLAs of the two regions, consisting of the legislatures, were allotted certain scheduled matters to be discussed in the respective legislature for more convenient transaction of the legislative business. In fact the two members from the Chandigarh Assembly constituencies, were to sit in the legislature of the Punjabi region and Chandigarh was made into a Union territory by addition of areas from Ambala and Kharar tehsils to make it a full-fledged Assembly constituency.

The list of villages and towns from the Fazilka and Abhor areas were to be ascertained after careful verification and these had to be published. This task was not at all difficult on the basis of census slips to be sorted out and the time involved in this task could normally have taken one month.

To link up this para with para 8 regarding other claims and counterclaims for readjustment of the existing inter-State boundaries between Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh with suitable terms of reference would have taken a very long time and with the existing paras, the problem would have become controversial. The agreement of July 24, would not only smoothen the inter-State boun-

dary in relation to para 5 of the 1970 statement and the decision to appoint a separate commission regarding claims and counterclaims is the best solution decided upon. Further, the agreement provides assurances of safeguards to minorities under the Constitution and in the scheme of safeguards approved by Parliament in September 1956 and the subservient safeguards of 1958 etc. This would ensure a great relief to minorities on both sides of the border areas and also within the two States. These principles were laid down by SRC in Chapter IV of this report.

The solution in regard to Chandigarh is remarkable in that the Chandigarh capital project area goes to Punjab (being the principal successor State) and the respective areas added to it would go to respective Haryana and Punjab States along with Sukhna Lake with its embankment going to Punjab.

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## Letters to the Editor

### Where Do We Stand ?

Sir,—The Punjabis have by & large felt jubilant over the Rajiv-Longowal accord. Almost every section of the society has praised the sincere efforts of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, Sant Longowal and Mr. Arjun Singh. Now, an important question arises about the implementation of the terms of the Memorandum of Agreement. Many hurdles have yet to be crossed to reach the final goal.

Several intellectuals and leaders of different parties have expressed their views of surprise, in as much as, that if this was the problem with such an easy solution why could it not be resolved three years ago when negotiations were started between the Government and the Akalis?

After the settlement (accord) to our utter surprise the BJP leaders like Shri Bajpai and Advani while making adverse comments observed that the mode followed by Shri Rajiv Gandhi, with a leader of a political party had set a bad precedent. But in his write-up Shri A. G. Noorani has branded their objections as "spurious-objections" and pointed out an excellent precedent of Kashmir accord of 1975, between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, who was not even the president of a political party, then.

Unfortunately, the Akali party also stands divided. Baba Joginder Singh is being made a tool by Jathedar. Talwandi and his coterie. Not only that, even intelligent leaders like Sardar Badal and Tohra are showing

uncalled for anguish at this critical stage. I think this can't be said as any sensible step. Why should one attach more importance to self, especially when the whole Sikh community is passing through a grave crisis?

People of Punjab at large and Sikhs throughout the country have taken a sigh of relief after quite a long period of struggle confrontation. Have these leaders ever come to realize that this achievement of the community through the genuine efforts of Sant Longowal is not an ordinary one. What more they want? They have not disclosed their minds before the public. After all this confrontation has had to terminate somewhere. We do know that the pre-Blue Star prestige and dignity of the community (Quom) will take quite some time to be restored. If we pause for a moment and conceive of the atrocities and barbarities that the Sikh youths had to suffer at the hands of the police and armed forces during June-November, 1984 and thereafter, one would feel bitter, stunned and tight-lipped. Some ghastly murders, arsoning and lootings can only be known if you happen to visit a refugees' camp. Any way, there is no use of reiterating those real stories as the matter is sub-judice before the Enquiry Commission headed by Mr. Justice Misra.

Now, we have to survey the whole situation to determine our future programme. Besides the cautions you have to take for getting the terms of the Accord implemented, another more

important duty that is cast upon the Sikh leaders and intellectuals is that they have to assess the community's loss. Properties lost can be reacquired with the passage of time. What the leaders are required to consider is that those people who were involved in criminal cases while defending themselves and their honour by using their licensed arms should be looked after well by the organizations like "Sikh Forum", various committees of the Akali Dal at Delhi and Ekta Manch. It should be our utmost responsibility to contact such aggrieved people and render necessary legal aid to them, so that they do not feel lonely and uncared of.

The last but not the least important duty of ours is that those Sikh Youths who had to get their long hair cut under the pressure of circumstances, under other compulsions and forcibly shaven by the rioters should be approached and persuaded to come back to their original shapes and get themselves baptised. Previously also

this part of our duties we have had been neglecting and our misguided youth was not properly taken care of. Rest assured, if we lose the sanctity of our gurdwaras and faith of the Sikh youth we cannot get our dignity restored.

Mere written articles, long speeches and sweet words cannot help us. Unfortunately, our leaders have been wasting their energies and funds of gurdwaras for making their political careers. How funny and unfortunate this part of the game has been? Our community has suffered exceedingly worse and beyond proportions during the last one year, which will go down so deep into record of the Indian history.

I, therefore, make an earnest request to our leaders to pay more attention in engaging preachers for baptising the youth. Let every Sikh child be made conscious that he/she must speak his or her mother-tongue, know the gurmukhi script and understand his or her religious scriptures.

—G.S. Chadha

New Delhi.

### Accord—"A Sell Out"

Sir,—Your recent writings on the Punjab problem did not measure upto the expectations of enlightened Sikh opinion, the Sikh youth and the rural masses of Punjab. It will be a folly to think that the Government Longowal Accord has been approved by the Sikh masses in Punjab. It may be true of Sikhs living outside Punjab for reasons of their vested interest in other states. The majority people in Punjab and abroad, who pride in self respect and would not like to have their conscience killed, are firmly of the opinion that the 'Accord' was a clean 'sell out'. People, who have thorough knowledge of issues behind Punjab crisis, will agree that there is not even one clause in the accord which is beneficial to Punjab. It was not, therefore, fair on your part to criticise Sardar Parkash Singh

Badal for opposing every clause of the Accord. The Accord can best be described as unprincipled compromise under the dictates of the Centre. All principles involved behind the issues were thrown to wind, constitutional rights surrendered and future generations of Sikh peasantry in Punjab economically ruined. Those who were instrumental in signing the Accord can not escape responsibility for committing treachery against the 'Panth'. The intelligentsia amongst Sikh of Punjab is not the least surprised over the outright rejection of the Accord by the Sikh masses of Punjab though the state controlled media continues to give a false picture to the contrary. However, the truth will emerge ultimately for all to see.

—Col. Bhagat Singh (Retd.) Chandigarh.

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# Homoeopathy for Allergies

By: Dr. Kusum Agarwal

Why does Saroj Parekh begin sneezing every time she enters an airconditioned room? Why does Pesi Bharucha get a migraine headache when he visits his fiancée? And why does Priya Sahani's son wake up suddenly at night gasping for breath every time he eats strawberry ice cream? These people are all victims of allergy.

In each of the cases described above, the individual reacted to something to which most people don't react at all. For example, Parekh reacts adversely to the airconditioning in the room, Bharucha gets a headache because his fiancée wears a perfume which does not agree with him and Sahani's son reacts badly to the colouring used in strawberry ice cream to give it an attractive pink colour. Allergy is a serious health problem and millions of people suffer from it.

According to the homoeopathic system of medicine, an allergy is due to the weak resistance of the individual to a particular substance. A homoeopath operates in several ways. Usually, the allergy symptoms are treated with substances which would produce them in a healthy person. This represents "individualisation" of the patient to his or her symptoms since the reaction of different individuals to the same substance may differ. For example, Preeti, a young girl of eight, develops a cough if she eats a guava; her father, on the other hand, gets a rash on his body when he consumes the same fruit. So each one needs a different medicine.

The other method of treatment is to treat the allergy directly with a homoeopathic preparation of the agent which caused it. For example, some people are allergic to the plant rhu-tox in spring time, so if a dose of an extremely high homoeopathic dilution of rhu-tox is taken, the allergic reaction can be removed.

The latter method works best when there is a clear-cut history of allergy to a single substance. When allergies are due to a number of substances, then the classic method of homoeopathic "individualisation" can remove it.

Common allergies are: a) respiratory allergies, for example, hay fever, asthma, colds and

sinusitis; b) skin allergies, such as urticaria and eczema, c) food allergies and d) environmental allergies.

## Respiratory Allergies

Hay fever is the most common of allergies. The old saying, "If you sneeze more than five times, or if the cold lasts for more than a week, it is an allergy", is often true. A very effective remedy for hay fever is the common onion or *Allium Cepa*. Everyone knows that when one peels an onion the eyes burn and water profusely and there is a watery acrid discharge from the nose. The same symptoms are evident in hay fever. If the hay fever is brought on by exposure to cold, damp or rainy weather, the patient is made to experience a sudden change in temperature and then dulcamara is given.

Asthma is another respiratory allergy. It is more of a chronic disease than hay fever. Asthma is often hereditary and as such, children are particularly susceptible to it. Children with skin diseases, who are treated with external suppressive ointments often suffer from it. Allergic asthma responds admirably to medicine made from turnips (*suran*) or arum triphyllum. This medicine is specially effective amongst those who have profuse acrid nasal discharge with an irresistible desire to pick at the nose and bite the lips until they

Although allergies strike a chord of fear in the hearts of patients and their families, homoeopathy has a number of harmless remedies—and cures—for this problem.

bleed. If the asthmatic attacks tend to be severe around midnight, then arsenic alb, is helpful. Natrum mur is indicated in the case of people who are affected by the seaside, while bromium is for those with a counter-tendency—they feel ill as soon as they go ashore.

Air pollution is the main cause of a running, dripping sinus, a hoarse voice and a cough. One of the major causes of polluted air is sulphurous and sulphuric acid. In homoeopathy, these two acids are given in a medicine form to remove allergies to air pollution. Sometimes the tendency to catch a cold requires constitutional treatment.

## Skin Allergies

Skin allergies are generally in the form of urticaria and eczema. Urticaria is an allergy of the skin consisting of raised red areas of the skin which itch and burn. They can come up on any part of the body and sometimes cover the entire body. A drug made from Stinging nettles, called urtica is very effective and another remedy is apis mellifica. However, for a complete cure, a constitutional treatment has to be given.

Eczema is more common in children than in adults. It is generally brought on by very

common foods like milk, wheat and eggs—foods which are so essential for the growing child that it is difficult to avoid them. It is here that homoeopathy steps in and offers a wonderful alternative in the form of minute sweet pills. Every case has to be studied thoroughly and constitutional treatment is required.

## Food Allergies

Homoeopathy is particularly effective in cases where allergies are traceable to common foods. The standard homoeopathic drugs, by method of "individualisation", are given according to the symptoms of the patient. For example, if person reacts adversely to butter, cabbage, fats, meat, cakes, pastries and rich foods then a drug called pulsatilla can be relied upon. This drug is particularly efficacious when, after partaking of any of the above items, the patient reveals symptoms of asthma, hay fever, urticaria or eczema. Nuxvomica is an effective remedy which removes the ill-effects brought on by over-indulgence in cold drinks, coffee, tea, chocolates, etc. Arsenic album is effective in cases of stomach upsets brought on by eating cold foods and drinks. Similarly, carbo veg, is effective in the case of alcoholic hangovers.

In conclusion, it can be seen that thought allergies strike a chord of fear in the hearts of patients and their families there is no need to panic, because homoeopathy not only provides a wide range of medicines, but very effective cures which are suited to the symptoms of each individual patient as well as changing climatic conditions.

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## New Indo-German Double Taxation Agreement

The new Indo-German Agreement for the Avoidance of Double Taxation comes into force on August 10, 1985. This new treaty is considered, by many experts, to be the most modern Double Taxation Agreement India has so far entered into with any country. The instruments of ratification were exchanged in New Delhi recently on the occasion of the visit of the German Minister of Foreign Affairs to India.

After coming into force, the new agreement will have retrospective effect in Germany from 1st January, 1984 and in India from 1st April, 1984 onwards.

The new treaty is not only a modernisation of the old one which dates back to the year 1959 but it also contains some substantial benefits.

Most striking amongst these new regulations are the incentives given to new investors. Dividends paid on share capital issued after the date of coming into force of the new agreement are taxed at the rate of only 15% instead of 25% which is charged on dividends out of old investments. Further, the tax charged on interest payable in respect of a loan given or debt created, after the date of coming into force of the new agreement, is limited to 10% if such interest is paid on a loan granted by a bank and to 15% in all other cases. In addition, the minimum shareholding in a joint venture, which entitles to the intercorporate privilege, has been reduced to

10% from the present 25%. This is an important step because about 80% of the Indo-German joint ventures have a German minority shareholding, many of which with a German share capital of less than 25%.

The reduction of the Indian tax on fees for technical services from 40% to 20% is another important feature of the new agreement. Companies offering turnkey-projects will welcome the new definition of the term "permanent establishment" by which a building site or construction or installation project constitutes a permanent establishment only if it lasts for more than six months, whereas upto now a building site etc. constituted a permanent establishment already from the first day onwards.

Indian nationals working in Germany and Germans who are employed in India will benefit from the clear definition of the term "resident of a Contracting State" which defines the state where the person is liable to tax. Another feature amongst several others is the coverage of wealth tax under the treaty. The new Double Taxation Agreement is one of the most important achievements in the recent history of Indo-German co-operation. The Indo-German Chamber of Commerce, in co-operation with DEG and the Indian Investment Centre, will, therefore, organise Seminars on the Double Taxation Agreement in Germany.

The Seminars will be held in Dusseldorf (21st October, 1985),

Hamburg (22nd October), Stuttgart (24th October) and Munich (25th October). Mr. Y. H. Malegam, past President of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India, will speak on the Indian Tax Structure and the implications of the new agreement in India, whilst Mr. B. Jonas, Expert on International Taxation in the Association of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce, will highlight the implications of the new treaty on taxation in

Germany.

German investments in India are more or less stagnant since many years and rather low in comparison to German investments in other important countries. The Indo-German Chamber of Commerce, therefore, considers it an important task to highlight the improvements of the new treaty which are meant as an incentive for further investments by German industry in India.

## Need to Re-Structure PR Functions

A 3-day Seminar on the subject Corporate Image of Commercial Banks at Bombay recently.

Jointly organised by the National Institute of Bank Management and the Society for Banks' Public Relations, the Seminar covered various subjects pertaining to 'Image building', 'communication with masses and the media'.

Besides top Bank executives (Shri T.K. Sinha, Dy. Managing Director of State Bank of India, Shri B. Ratnakar, Chairman of Canara Bank, and Shri R.P. Goyal, former Chairman of State Bank of India); leading journalists (Shri Hari Jai Singh of Indian Express and Shri K.C. Khanna of Times of India); prominent PR practitioners (Shri Neelkandan, President of PR Society of India, Shri M.L. Kaul, former Addl. Director of ONGC, Shri Roger Perriera of Shilpi); representatives of Depositors' and Employees' Associations (Sarvashri M.R. Pai and L.V. Subramaniam respectively) also shared their views and experiences with the participants.

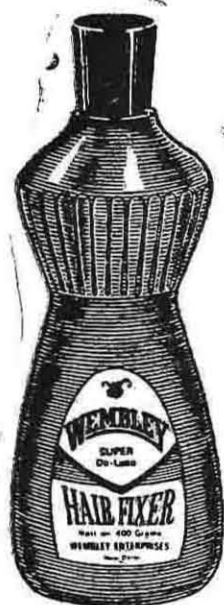
Dr. V.N. Patankar of NIBM

and Shri H.L. Sawhney, President of the Society for Banks' Public Relations, coordinated the programme.

The consensus at the Seminar was that the Banks have but to ensure that their image with the masses is clean, healthy and positive. For this they need to re-structure and re-orient their public relations machinery on a pragmatic and forward-looking plane.

It was also felt necessary that public relations machinery in Banks is professionalised and top management associated with it. It is only then that the challenges thrown by today's mass-oriented banking could be effectively met. The sooner it is done the better.

Shri Hari Jai Singh and Shri K.C. Khanna emphasised that even now it is not too late that the Banks have meaningful interaction with the press on an on-going basis so that the latter could highlight the positive side of the Banks' activities in ameliorating the lot of common man in tune with the new economic order that has now been ushered in.



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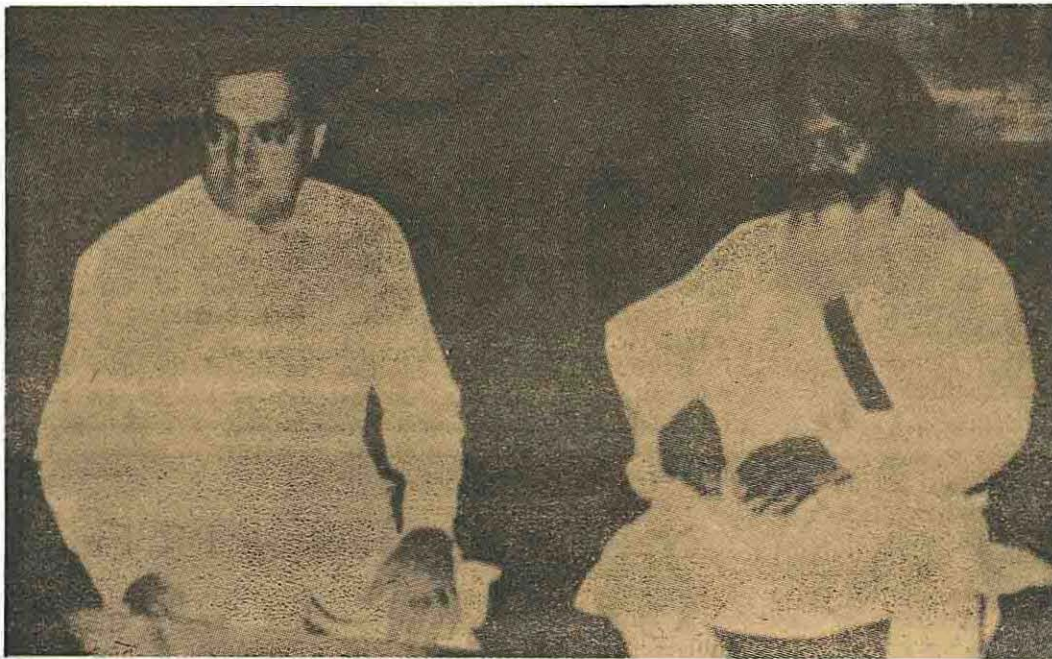
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*Akali Dal President Sant Harchand Singh Longowal with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi*

(Continued from front page)

Then how could Sant Longowal be faulted for having concluded an honourable accord with the central government?

Do these knight-errants really believe that they could get better terms for the Sikhs at pistol-point?

Even if there were differences of opinion about the value and contents of the accord, the Sant's opponents should have tried to carry the people with them through propaganda campaign, exposing the points on which the Panth has been "betrayed", and proved the Sant wrong. Bullets were no answer.

#### Great Void

Where do we go from here?

Unfortunately, Sant Longowal has not left behind any Akali leader who could step into his shoes easily. Among the bigwigs of his Shiromani Akali Dal there is no one with his mass following, his sense of self-abnegation, his charisma, his ability to convince others about Sikhs' view points, his piety and purity, and his sense of devotion to men and causes.

The struggle for power within Akali Dal is bound to be intense. Though no one is indispensable in this world and no nation or community dies with its leader of the day yet the void left behind by the Sant will be difficult to fill for some time to come.

History is witness that often a great calamity forces the rivals to sink their differences and subordinate their personal ambitions. We hope this axiom will be proved correct at this crucial juncture in the community's history and the top men in Shiromani Akali Dal will succeed in choosing a person, if not permanently, at least for the time being, who could head the party and carry it through the difficult days ahead.

#### Elections

Sant Longowal had been

announcing from housetops that the present was not the opportune moment for elections to Lok Sabha and state assembly in Punjab, as some more months must be allowed to elapse for the past bitterness to be buried and a congenial atmosphere to be created. But the central government did not listen to him. Now he has been proved to be correct in his estimation. The dust and din of coming elections helped

open the old wounds and provided opportunity to the extremists to throw in spanners.

Still it is not too late.

The formal notification for the elections has not been issued. Thus, New Delhi would be well advised to postpone the poll till, say, February or March next so that the present turmoil, let loose by the Sant's assassination, subsides and elections can be held in a peaceful manner.

## President and Prime Minister Condemn Sant Longowal's Assassination

The President Giani Zail Singh and the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi led the nation in condemning the assassination of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, saying that his death had left a big void which would be difficult to fill.

"There are no words to condemn this dastardly act", Giani Zail Singh said in a condolence message adding that the best way to pay homage to the slain Akali chief would be to faithfully implement the Punjab accord and follow his policies of "unity, communal harmony and the integrity of the country".

#### A Tragedy

The Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi described the assassination as "a tragedy not just for Punjab but for the whole country".

In a statement he called upon the "people to uphold the principles for which Santji has made the supreme sacrifice of life".

The following is the text of his statement:

"Sant Harchand Singh Longowal is no longer with us.

A man of peace has fallen to the bullets of assassins.

The tragic death of Santji at this critical juncture is a tragedy not just for Punjab but for the whole country. He worked courageously for communal harmony to unite the people of Punjab, to remove hatred from the hearts of men and to bring peace after so much strife and pain.

His gentleness, transparent sincerity and abiding commitment to the welfare of all communities have left their impress on the history of Punjab.

He has left a void which is difficult to fill. In this hour of sorrow we must keep calm and not allow ourselves to be deflected from the path of unity and brotherhood which he followed.

That will be the best tribute that a sorrowing nation can pay to the memory of a true and dedicated son of India.

It behoves unto uphold the principles for which Santji has made the supreme sacrifice of his life."

## 1970 Fifteenth Anniversary 1985

Our beloved founder

**Sardar Harpal Singhji**

was a man of principle, firm of purpose with a clear cut aim, combined with hard work. We respect and admire him.

Though, he is no more, he lives in our cherished memories to ardently follow his treaded path.

In respectful homage to this noble soul, we keep our offices closed for this day, the 19th August 1985.



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